

The Suffragist

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FIVE CENTS

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1918



Drawn for The Suffragist by Nina E. Allender

Gassed!

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OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

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Notes of the Week

Drawings By Cornelia Barns

THE drawings in this week's issue of THE SUFFRAGIST are the work of the well known illustrator and artist Cornelia Barns, whose work is familiar to the readers of the *Liberator*. Mrs. Barns is a member of the National Woman's Party and much interested in their work. She came to Washington especially to make these very sketches of the participants in the suffrage debate. We wish to express the thanks of the editors for her contributions to the paper.

Texas Women May Lose Their Vote

THE bill passed last spring by the Texas legislature giving women the right to vote in the primaries in that state has been declared unconstitutional in a District Court. The matter will probably be carried to a higher court before women will again be completely disfranchised in this state.

The primary for the election of judge for the Thirty-sixth District Court was contested. The candidate who lost filed a suit charging that his opponent was illegally nominated on account of the votes of women who were debarred from voting by the state constitution. His contention was upheld by the court.

When suffrage for women granted by the individual states hangs on so thin a thread that it may be withdrawn by the decision of a minor judge in the state, the imperative need of securing federal action on the matter becomes even more apparent.

Anne Martin Condemns Senate Action

MISS Anne Martin, independent candidate for the United States Senate from Nevada, made the following statement upon hearing that the Senate had failed to pass the Susan B. Anthony amendment:

"The failure to pass this amendment is an injustice to the women of America, who are bearing their full part of the burden of the war, and to the women of the whole world.

"The speedy passage of this amendment is necessary to prove to all nations that we were sincere in entering this war in order to make the world safe for democracy.

"Cannot a government that has mobilized millions of men to fight for democracy abroad mobilize the vote in the United States Senate to establish it at home?"

New Jersey Parties and Suffrage

THE State Convention of New Jersey of the Democratic Party failed to insert a plank endorsing woman suffrage at their meeting on October 1, to make a declaration of principles.

The point was hotly contested. The Republican convention declared for suffrage and urged candidates to support suffrage in so far as they are not bound by primary pledges.

The Democratic candidate for the Senate has issued statements favoring national suffrage. The Republican candidate for the long term, Governor Edge, has endorsed the measure, while the candidate for the short term, Senator Baird, has voted against the amendment in the Senate.

Alien Women

A QUESTION was asked of one of the New York dailies: "Can an American woman who is heart and soul a patriotic and loyal American, but whose husband is unnaturalized, though in an insane asylum, gain her right to vote and her citizenship?"

The answer was conclusive:

"No. So long as the husband lives, whether he is insane or has deserted her, if he is not a naturalized citizen she cannot vote. If the husband should die, she would then have the right to apply for citizenship papers, but so long as he lives she has no identity separate from his in this respect."

The injustice is patent.

Women Consulted About Working Conditions

FOR the first time the government through the Women in Industry Service called for a meeting for October 4 and 5, for organized women workers to discuss such matters as the principle of equal pay for equal work by women and men, proper sanitation in factories and workshops, and the employment of women in hazardous industries. Among the decisions arrived at by the women was one opposing the employment of women for night work and one insisting that the establishment of a minimum wage for women. It was urged that the minimum wage for women be determined as that of men is determined, that is taking into consideration the fact that the worker has dependents to support.

Woman School Superintendent In Wyoming

BOTH candidates for State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Wyoming are women.

The position is at present held by a woman. Both candidates had men opponents in the primaries and both won over them by large majorities. After more years of women voting than any other state in the country, Wyoming has evidently decided that after all women should be school superintendents.

A Woman's Party Lawyer

MRS. Beatrice Castleton, former state chairman of Georgia for the National Woman's Party, has been admitted to practice law before the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. Mrs. Castleton was one of the first women to practice law in the state of Georgia.

Women Represented On Federal Employment Boards

THE Employment Service of the Department of Labor which has charge of placing all unskilled labor in the country, has agreed to add two women to every community board. The women members will have full voting power on the board. It was at first arranged by the Department of Labor to have the women vote only on questions concerning women exclusively, but the protest from organized women was so great that it became necessary to rescind this order and admit women to full membership on the boards and also to add two women members to each state advisory committee.

Every step gained by women in the many branches of their fight for equality is gained through organization.

British Women Urged to Organize

BRITISH women's journals are calling attention to the fact that women who work must organize. At the same time Miss Rankin is urging a teachers' union in this country to secure better wages for women teachers. One British paper gives the following interesting paragraph on the wages of women.

"Here we find the Metropolitan Asylums Board lamenting the fact that London is short of six hundred nurses, and hoping that it may get some untrained 'educated' women for board, laundry, uniform, £20 a year and some bonuses. These war bonuses cannot be regarded as a permanent addition to wages. The fixed wage—the wage which the educated woman can say she is worth is £20 a year; considerably less than that of a London parlourmaid in a fairly good situation. Until lately the women teachers were by comparison in an even worse position, since they possessed not only education but professional training and experience. Their self-effacement had its fine side. Less laudable was their reluctance to say that they belonged to a trade union. The London unit of the National Federation of Women Teachers has given them a splendid lift out of the rut of genteel abnegation and is now, we see, forming a reserve fund to continue the campaign until the principle of equal pay is conceded. But the moral of all these instances is that they who will not organize are lost."

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following articles be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.

In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating, Taylor and Hayden. Reintroduced in the House December 18, 1917, by Representatives Rankin, Raker, Hayden, Taylor, Keating and Mondell.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

In the House all resolutions reintroduced on December 18 were referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Reported in the Senate

Favorably September 15, 1917.

Reported in the House

By Judiciary Committee without recommendation December 15, 1917.

By Suffrage Committee with recommendation January 8, 1918.

Present Status

In the Senate

on the calendar awaiting a vote.

In the House

Passed January 10, 1918.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 25 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

October 1, 1918. Yeas 54, nays 30, failing by 2 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

Editor

Miss Vivian Pierce

Cartoonist, Mrs. Nina E. Allender

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The Defeat in the Senate

THE National suffrage amendment was defeated in the United States Senate on October first by two votes.

It was defeated because of lack of Democratic support. The Democrats gave less than two-thirds of their votes to the amendment, while the Republicans gave much more than two-thirds of the votes on their side of the house. Seventy-three per cent of the Republicans voted for it against fifty-seven per cent of the Democrats. Had the Democratic support been equal to the Republican support, the resolution would have passed.

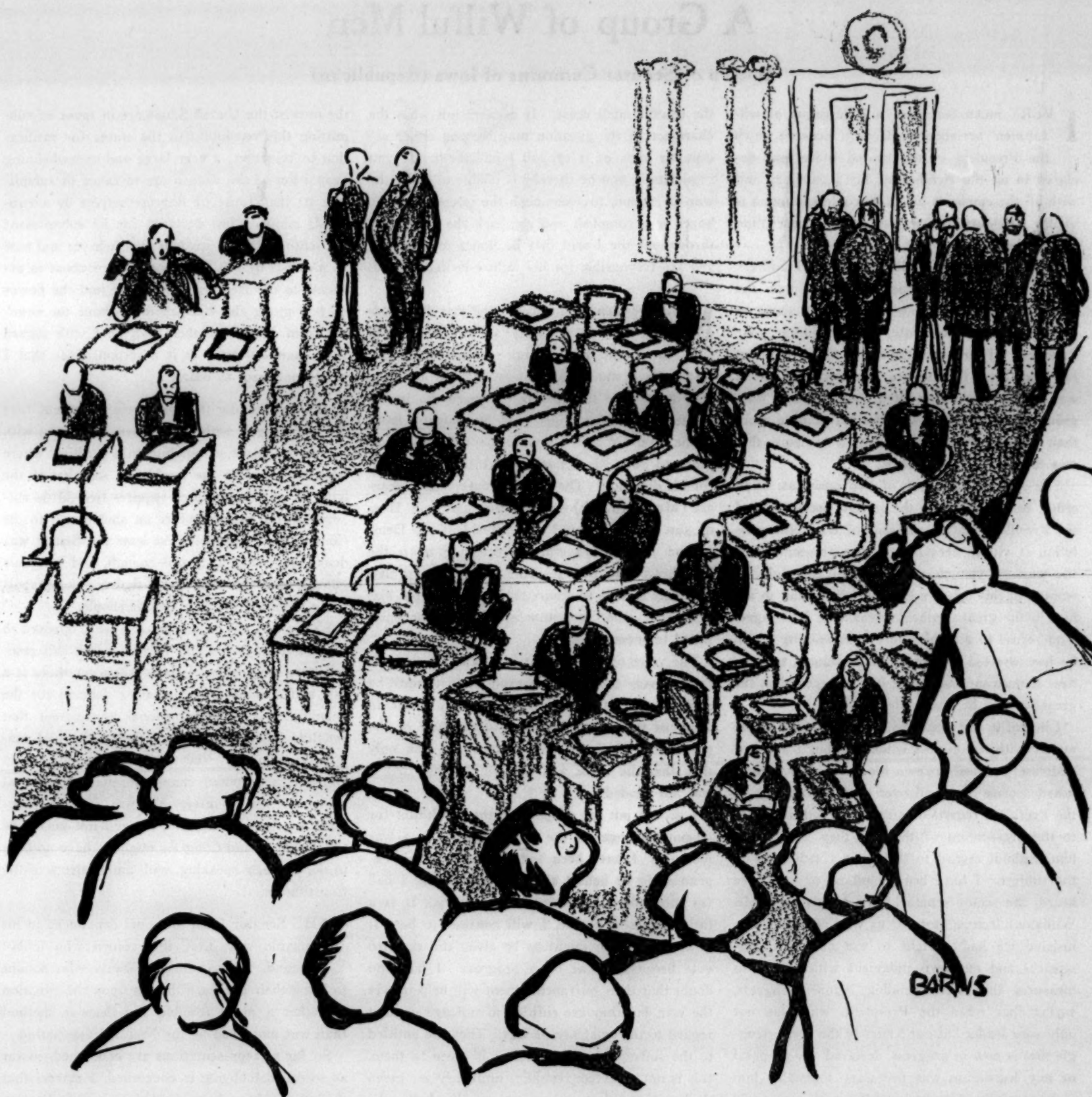
The President has at last come out squarely in support of this measure for democracy at home. Had he taken this stand five years ago when he began his administration, the amendment would probably now have been ratified by the necessary number of states. If during the few months he has been its professed advocate, he had fought for it with the vigor he has put behind other measures it would undoubtedly have passed the Senate this week.

While the President's support was too reluctantly and tardily given to secure the passage of the amendment, it is nevertheless an immense asset. We look to the President to follow up his appeal to the Senate with the same vigorous determination he has shown when rebuffed by Congress on other measures. If the President really means that the passage of this amendment is necessary as a spiritual weapon for the conduct of the war, he will put all the power of his high office into securing this weapon. He will not rest until there is a reversal of the Senate's verdict.

This defeat is but a temporary one. The measure is back on the Senate calendar in the same position as before the vote was taken. It can still be passed by the Senate before the close of this Congress next March. The Administration can obtain a reversal of the Senate vote by further pressure upon the opponents in the Senate, or by securing suffragists in place of the four opponents who go out on November fifth.

The responsibility for the passage of this measure is still with the Administration and the Democratic Party. They cannot plead lack of authority with their own men. As long as they are in control they are responsible for what is done. Whatever attempts they may have made to pass the measure, the fact remains that it is not yet passed. Upon the Administration and the party which is in control and could have passed the amendment, the responsibility for its defeat must rest. They can only escape this responsibility by securing an immediate reversal of the vote in the Senate.

ALICE PAUL.



Drawn for the Suffragist by Cornelia Barns

Autocracy at Home

The Thirty-four Wilful Men Who Are Opposing the President

DEMOCRATS

Bankhead, Alabama
Underwood, Alabama
Fletcher, Florida
Trammell, Florida
Smith, Georgia
Hardwick, Georgia
Simmons, North Carolina
Overman, North Carolina

Martin, Virginia
Swanson, Virginia (*paired against*)
Beckham, Kentucky (*paired against*)
Guion, Louisiana
Smith, Maryland
Williams, Mississippi
Reed, Missouri
Smith, South Carolina
Shields, Tennessee

Saulsbury, Delaware
Wolcott, Delaware
Pomerene, Ohio
Benet, South Carolina
Hitchcock, Nebraska
REPUBLICANS
Brandegge, Connecticut
McLean, Connecticut
Lodge, Massachusetts

Weeks, Massachusetts
Knox, Pennsylvania (*paired against*)
Penrose, Pennsylvania
Borah, Idaho (*paired against*)
Hale, Maine
Baird, New Jersey
Wadsworth, New York
Dillingham, Vermont
Drew, New Hampshire

A Group of Wilful Men

Speech of Senator Cummins of Iowa (Republican)

I VERY much fear that "a little group of wilful men" are about to defeat a measure which the President of the United States has declared in all the richness of his vocabulary and with all the emphasis which he could command is vitally necessary for the successful prosecution of the war.

It is a strange spectacle to me, and I address myself mainly to my brother senators upon the other side of the Chamber. You are about to flout, disparage, repudiate, and humiliate your President. I sincerely hope that there will not fall upon you that severe condemnation which was at a former time visited upon another "little group of wilful men" who desired nothing more than an opportunity to amend a measure that was then before the Senate.

You are driven to one of two positions. You either refuse to accept the solemn declaration of the President that the passage of this joint resolution is vitally necessary to the prosecution of the war, or you choose to defeat the right of women in this country to vote rather than to aid him in the great conflict in which he is engaged. You refuse to give him an instrumentality which he has asserted to you with the utmost seriousness is necessary to enable him to accomplish the great purpose he has in view.

I intend to state my position with regard to the matter with the utmost frankness, but I am now addressing myself to men most of whom I have heard declare over and over again that whatever the President regarded as essential and necessary to the prosecution of the war they would give him, without regard to their own conclusions on the subject. I have heard, and all of you have heard, the senior senator from Mississippi (Mr. Williams) lecture those of us who now and then insisted we had a right to use our own consciences and our own judgment with regard to measures that were pending before Congress, saying that when the President, who was not only your leader but our leader in the great struggle that is now in progress, declared any proposal or any legislation was necessary to enable him to successfully carry forward his work you would vote for it, that you would accept his judgment. I have heard the senior senator from Mississippi hour after hour denounce those who undertook to assert their own judgment. Why does he not accept the judgment of the President now at this vital moment? Why does he repudiate him now if he was willing to accept him then without inquiry? . . .

I am asserting that in everything else, save woman suffrage, so far as it has developed in the legislation since the war began, the great majority of the Senate has been willing to accept, and has accepted implicitly, the judgment and the determination of the President that a particular thing was necessary in order vigorously, energetically, and successfully to bring this war to an end and to compass the nations of the earth after

the conflict shall cease. It matters not what the character of the question may be, you either accept his view of it or you repudiate it. If you repudiate it, and he thereby is unable to bring the war to an end, to accomplish the peace which he hopes to accomplish and establish the conditions throughout the world that he hopes to establish, you are responsible for his failure in that regard.

MR. President, I sincerely hope that the President may deal kindly and leniently with those who are refusing to remove this obstacle which stands in his way. It has not been very long since the President retired the junior Senator from Mississippi (Mr. Vardaman) from public life. Why? Because he refused at all times to obey the commands which were issued for his direction. The junior senator from Georgia (Mr. Hardwick) suffered the same fate. How do you hope to escape? Mr. President, my Democratic friends are either proceeding upon the hypothesis that the President is insincere or that they may be able to secure an immunity from him that these other unfortunate aspirants for office failed to secure. . . .

The voice of the prophet was heard in the wilderness very clearly and obeyed implicitly until he spoke in behalf of humanity, until he spoke in favor of the enfranchisement of one-half of the population of the United States. It was only then that the voice was lost, or at least that it was not heeded. . . .

I do not put my support of the resolution for woman suffrage on the ground that it is a war measure. I have been for woman suffrage, expending in its behalf all the energies that I had for more than a quarter of a century. It is a little abhorrent to me, I will confess, to hear it said that women ought to be given the right to vote because a war is in progress. I have no doubt that their enfranchisement will help to win the war, but they are entitled to suffrage without regard to the existence of war. They are entitled to the suffrage because, until it is given to them, this is not a perfect republic; until they are given the power to select representatives who shall make or help to make their laws and help to execute them this is not a true democracy. I am for this resolution because I believe that the Government of the future will be a wiser and better and juster government if women vote than if they are excluded from the vote, as they have been heretofore.

It is a strange thing to me—and now I address myself to both sides, all sides, and from the very depth of my heart—that 33 or 34 men who happen to be for the time being senators of the United States are about, if appearances indicate the outcome, to deny to the people of the United States the opportunity to determine for themselves whether or not they desire the Constitution to be amended in this respect. What a situation! More than one-half, I am sure, of all of

the men of the United States are in favor of submitting this resolution to the states for ratification or rejection; a very large and overwhelming proportion of the women are in favor of submitting it; the House of Representatives by a two-thirds majority has declared for its submission; the sentiment in its favor is everywhere; and now 33 men out of 100,000,000 people are about to arrogate to themselves the privilege and the power of preventing the electors throughout the country from expressing their judgment with regard to woman suffrage. It is a responsibility that I would not want to bear. . . .

I DO not wonder that the President stands here and appeals with all his earnestness and with all his heart to put him in a position where he can go before the world and say that if the letter of our Government requires two-thirds majority in the Senate before an amendment to the Constitution is proposed, at least the Senate was democratic enough, liberal enough, and generous enough to submit a proposal that has the support of so large a proportion of our people.

So far as I am concerned, if I were opposed to woman suffrage I would vote to submit this resolution to the people. I think whenever there is a fair and reasonable sentiment or demand for the submission of a constitutional amendment that senators ought not to allow their individual convictions to prevent the submission to our sovereigns of a proposed change in the fundamental charter of the country. We are not the custodians of the Constitution; we did not make the Constitution; and Congress ought to have nothing to do, logically speaking, with amendments to the Constitution. . . .

THE Senator from Missouri denounced in his terrific way, first, the women who lobby; second, the so-called militants who sought to bring their influence to bear upon the situation in rather a more forcible and decisive method than was employed by the National association.

So far as representations are concerned, so far as so-called lobbying is concerned, I marvel that the women have been as patient and forbearing as they have been. I think they have a God-given right to swarm about this Capitol, presenting not only to members of Congress but to everyone else the injustice that is inflicted upon them and insisting upon the repair of that injustice. I do not set any limit to the energy and the persistence and the enthusiasm of women who are engaged in attempting to secure the right to participate in the affairs of a Government whose laws control and compel them.

What would you have done, men, if you had been deprived of the right to vote? What would you have done if you had been deprived the right of representation? Have the militants done anything worse than the revolutionary forces who gathered about the tea chests and threw them into

Concluded on Page 15

The President Urges the Passage of Suffrage

GENTLEMEN of the Senate: The unusual circumstances of a world war in which we stand and are judged in the view not only of our own people and our own consciences but also in the view of all nations and peoples will, I hope, justify in your thought, as it does in mine, the message I have come to bring you.

I regard the concurrence of the Senate in the constitutional amendment proposing the extension of the suffrage to women as vitally essential to the successful prosecution of the great war of humanity in which we are engaged. I have come to urge upon you the considerations which have led me to that conclusion. It is not only my privilege, it is also my duty to apprise you of every circumstance and element involved in this momentous struggle which seems to me to affect its very processes and its outcome. It is my duty to win the war and to ask you to remove every obstacle that stands in the way of winning it.

I HAD assumed that the Senate would concur in the amendment because no disputable principle is involved but only a question of the method by which the suffrage is to be extended to women. There is and can be no party issue involved in it. Both of our great national parties are pledged, explicitly pledged, to equality of suffrage for the women of the country.

Neither party, therefore, it seems to me, can justify hesitation as to the method of obtaining it, can rightfully hesitate to substitute Federal initiative for State initiative, if the early adoption of this measure is necessary to the successful prosecution of the war and if the method of State action proposed in party platforms of 1916 is impracticable within any reasonable length of time, if practicable at all.

And its adoption is, in my judgment, clearly necessary to the successful prosecution of the war and the successful realization of the object for which the war is being fought.

THAT judgment I take the liberty of urging upon you with solemn earnestness for reasons which I shall state very frankly and which I shall hope will seem as conclusive to you as they seem to me.

This is a peoples' war and the peoples' thinking constitutes its atmosphere and morale, not the predilections of the drawing room or the political considerations of the caucus.

If we be indeed Democrats and wish to lead the world to democracy, we can ask other peoples to accept in proof of our sincerity and our ability to lead them whither they wish to be led nothing less persuasive and convincing than our actions. Our professions will not suffice. Verification must be forthcoming when verification is asked for. And in this case verification is asked for—asked for in this particular matter. You ask by whom?

Not through diplomatic channels; not by foreign ministers. Not by the intimations of parliaments. It is asked for by the anxious, expect-

tant, suffering peoples with whom we are dealing and who are willing to put their destinies in some measure in our hands, if they are sure that we wish the same things that they do.

I do not speak by conjecture. It is not alone the voices of statesmen and of newspapers that reach me, and the voices of foolish and intemperate agitators do not reach me at all. Through many, many channels I have been made aware what the plain, struggling, workaday folk are thinking upon whom the chief terror and suffering of this tragic war falls.

THEY are looking to the great, powerful, famous Democracy of the West to lead them to the new day for which they have so long waited; and they think, in their logical simplicity, that democracy means that women shall play their part in affairs alongside men and upon an equal footing with them. If we reject measures like this, in ignorance or defiance of what a new age has brought forth, of what they have seen but we have not, they will cease to believe in us; they will cease to follow or to trust us.

They have seen their own governments accept this interpretation of democracy—seen old governments accept this interpretation of democracy—seen old governments like that of Great Britain, which did not profess to be democratic, promise readily and as of course this justice to women, though they had before refused it, the strange revelations of this war having made many things new and plain, to governments as well as to people.

ARE we alone to refuse to learn the lesson? Are we alone to ask and take the utmost that our women can give—service and sacrifice of every kind—and still say we do not see what title that gives them to stand by our sides in the guidance of the affairs of their nation and ours?

We have made partners of the women in this war; shall we admit them only to a partnership of suffering and sacrifice and toil and not a partnership of privilege and right? This war could not have been fought, either by the other nations engaged or by America, if it had not been for the services of the women—services rendered in every sphere—not merely in the fields of effort in which we have been accustomed to see them work, but wherever men have worked and upon the very skirts and edges of the battle itself.

We shall not only be distrusted but shall deserve to be distrusted if we do not enfranchise them with the fullest possible enfranchisement, as it is now certain that the other great free nations will enfranchise them.

We cannot isolate our thought and action in such a matter from the thought of the rest of the world. We must either conform or deliberately reject what they propose and resign the leadership of liberal minds to others.

The women of America are too noble and too intelligent and too devoted to be slackers whether you give or withhold this thing that is mere jus-

tice; but I know the magic it will work in their thoughts and spirits if you give it them.

I propose it as I would propose to admit soldiers to the suffrage, the men fighting in the field for our liberties and the liberties of the world, were they excluded. The task of the women lies at the very heart of the war, and I know how much stronger that heart will beat if you do this just thing and show our women that you trust them as much as you in fact and of necessity depend upon them.

HAVE I said that the passage of this amendment is a vitally necessary war measure, and do you need further proof? Do you stand in need of the trust of other peoples and of the trust of our own women? Is that trust an asset or is it not?

I tell you plainly, as the commander-in-chief of our armies and of the gallant men in our fleets, as the present spokesman of this people in our dealings with the men and women throughout the world who are now our partners, as the responsible head of a great government which stands and is questioned day by day as to its purposes, its principles, its hopes, whether they be serviceable to men everywhere or only to itself, and who must himself answer these questions or be shamed, as the guide and director of forces caught in the grip of war and by the same token in need of every material and spiritual resource this great nation possesses—I tell you plainly that this measure which I urge upon you is vital to the winning of the war and to the energies alike of preparation and of battle.

AND not to the winning of the war only. It is vital to the right solution of the great problems which we must settle, and settle immediately, when the war is over. We shall need them in our vision of affairs, as we have never needed them before, the sympathy and insight and clear moral instinct of the women of the world. The problems of that time will strike to the roots of many things that we have not hitherto questioned, and I for one believe that our safety in those questioning days, as well as our comprehension of matters that touch society to the quick, will depend upon the direct and authoritative participation of women in our counsels. We shall need their moral sense to preserve what is right and fine and worthy in our system of life as well as to discover just what it is that ought to be purified and reformed.

Without their counselings we shall be only half wise.

THAT is my case. That is my appeal. Many may deny its validity, if they choose, but no one can brush aside or answer the arguments upon which it is based. The executive tasks of this war rest upon me. I ask that you lighten them and place in my hands instruments, spiritual instruments, which I do not now possess, which I sorely need, and which I have daily to apologize for not being able to employ.

The Suffrage Defeat by the Senate



Discrimination

AFTER five days of debate, in spite of the eleventh hour appeal of the President of the United States for its passage as a war measure, the federal suffrage amendment was defeated in the United States Senate on October 1, by thirty-four votes, failing of the necessary two-thirds votes for passage by two votes.

The struggle for the enfranchisement of the nation's women as a war measure, as a pledge to the world of our sincerity at this time, was one of the most dramatic battles enacted in the Senate this session. On the floor the President of the nation pleaded that he be given a powerful spiritual weapon for the winning of the war; that he be no longer shamed in the eyes of the English-speaking world. In the galleries the remnant of the suffrage pioneers; the young and rebellious women who have followed them; women from the East and West and the South, listened day after day to the contest of interested prejudice and sectional bigotry against the forces making for the new, the better day.

It was apparent early in the struggle that the reactionary South and a small New England group were against the suffrage amendment. The sorry spectacle of representatives of States that had been pioneers in libertarian struggles, uniting to perpetuate sectional feeling through fear of a new and independent body of voters, exposed plainly the meaning of the opposition in the north and in the south, an opposition that the President himself, appealing for national unity, did not move.

THE five days' debate on woman suffrage in the Senate brought forth a few noble protests for democracy; again the debate sank to those levels often reached by that august body at play: Reed and Lewis exchanged amicable insults; Underwood took the Senate into his confidence as to his "helpmate;" Henderson of Nevada dilated on the fear of the Senate over the loss of woman's "subtle charm and loveliness;" and Kirby of Arkansas told of his sensations on seeing "ladies" ride astride. The President, on the other hand, on the memorable day on which he appeared made one of the most moving and solemn appeals of his career, an appeal which for all time has lifted the question of woman suffrage even to politicians out of the sentimental field to the level of the great questions of the day.

On October 27, the National Woman's Party held the floor in the Senate. Certain Senators—Pittman, of Nevada; Reed, of Missouri; and Thomas, of Colorado, plainly showed how deeply under the skin of the Democratic Party had bitten the policy of the Woman's Party, holding responsible the majority party for the long blockade of suffrage. Senators Pittman and Thomas demonstrated that the magazine they knew best was a small but exhilarating pamphlet entitled *THE SUFFRAGIST*. They quoted it copiously; and they quoted long descriptive excerpts from the daily press describing the National Woman's Party demonstrations. Senator Poindexter, of Washington, finally interrupted:

"I should like the Senator, as long as he is discussing the action of the pickets, to explain to the Senate whether or not it is the action of the pickets and the militant branch of the Woman's



Waiting at the Gallery Doors

Party that caused the President to change his attitude on the subject. Was he coerced into supporting this measure—after he had for years opposed it—because he was picketed? When did the President change his attitude? If it was not because he was picketed, will the senator explain what was the cause of the change of the President's attitude?

"My recollection is that the President did change his attitude, and I am very glad he changed it, he deserves credit for changing it, and for the position which he now occupies; but so long as the Senator is going into an analysis of the political history of this proceeding, I should like him to complete it, and explain to us, in view of the partisan issue which he has injected into this question, just the motives that have brought about the change of attitude on the part of the leader of the Democratic Party."

Pittman's only retort was:

"Very probably the President of the United States is just as intelligent and as fearless as in the Senator from Washington."

Senator Thomas, protesting against the National Woman's Party, paid high tribute to more conservative suffragists in words that took on a tone of biblical exhortation:

"They flaunt banners disfigured with offensive legends. They indulge in much tumult and vociferous braying, all for notoriety's sake, enabling the enemies of equal suffrage, whose arguments have failed, to use them as terrible examples," declaimed the Senator, in contrast to those other suffragists, whose "escutcheon is unstained by mob methods or appeals to violence. They have neither counseled nor tolerated disorder. They have neither picketed Presidents nor populated prisons."

The loss of Senator Benet's (South Carolina) vote, announced by him on October 28, made the suffrage situation serious. Senator Drew had already gone over to the ranks of the obstructionists; the loss of this Democrat for the time being stopped the recriminations of suffrage politicians.

The session of the 28th had injected into its proceedings lengthy discourses on Spanish influenza, raging at the present time, particularly in the New England States. The very Senators who are opposing suffrage on States' rights grounds made impassioned plea for national action on this matter. These consistent opponents of suffrage included Underwood of Alabama and Senators Lodge and Penrose, all entrenched antis.

Senator Shafroth, in attempting once more to save the day for woman suffrage, made an able and forceful analysis of the present situation and touched on the constitutional side of the worn-out question:

"WHAT is involved in the right to vote? It is the greatest governmental power that exists, because it includes the determination of all governmental questions. Is it possible that a human being who is as well educated as woman shall not be given consideration because man has arrogated those powers and has reserved them exclusively for himself?

"It has been said that Senators have been influenced politically to change their views upon this subject; but, Mr. President, so far as I am



The Senate Cerberus

LODGE



concerned that charge does not lie at my door. Forty-odd years ago I made a speech in a debating society in favor of woman suffrage, and there never has been an hour since that time when I did not feel that it was an outrage for man to deprive woman of the right to vote. I introduced this identical joint resolution in five successive Congresses when I was a member of the House of Representatives, and yet its passage was always refused.

"SUPPOSE man were deprived of the right to vote, how long would that condition last? Would there not be a revolution? Our very Declaration of Independence says 'That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.' Of course a revolution would follow. Why can we not look a little at the other side? Why can we not see the matter from the woman's position? Can not we see that women advocating this measure are so earnest that they would lay down their lives in order to get the principle established? Are we to ignore fundamental principles? Are we to ignore women who are pleading for such rights?

"We do not look at the question from woman's viewpoint. We are just like any class of people or any potentate that has power and does not want to give it up. The original form of government was an absolute monarchy. It was the assumption of power by force, and the absolute monarch vigorously resisted yielding any of it. The absolute monarch denied the petition of the people, and of the aristocracy even, in order to retain his power. Yet, Mr. President, when the first concessions came they were called grants of power not to the people but to the aristocracy, and the governments were then called limited monarchies. Then there grew the sentiment that all people have inalienable rights, that they had

rights which they could not be deprived of, even if they were willing to surrender them. You can not justify the interference with those inalienable rights of man, and inasmuch as woman, being a human being, is on exactly the same footing you can not come to any other conclusion than that this principle of the just powers of government being derived from the consent of the governed will extend over all human beings.

"Mr. President, there should be a movement everywhere in behalf of this great principle. I can not conceive how people want rights that they are not willing to give to other people of intelligence. It must be a relic of the theory of the divine right of kings extended to the divine right of sex. Is that right? Is that fair? If you were in the other position, would you deem it right? Would you deem it fair? Can you not look at it a little from the woman's standpoint?

"Mr. President, there is no sacrifice that woman will not make for her country. There is no sacrifice she would not make even to the extent of going upon the field of battle.

PENROSE



"IT seems that senators do not realize that there is going on in the world an evolution in government. They do not seem to realize that this onward tendency of democracy has been developing for years and years; that its greatest impetus was given by the Declaration of Independence, and that it is making a sweeping movement on account of the great war that is now devastating Europe.

It was that Declaration of Independence, which announced the doctrine that the just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed, which has modified every form of government on earth. It has made the absolute monarch yield to a legislative body which holds the purse strings of the government. It has brought about the establishment of Republic after Republic on the Western Hemisphere. It has even established Republics in the Continent of Europe. The man who can not foresee that his onward

movement is bound to succeed, that it is founded upon justice, upon equity, upon right, it seems to me is blind to what the future holds in store for us.

"Why, Mr. President, this evolution is going on even to the extent of affecting the subject of woman suffrage, by reason of the fact that state after state is adopting this measure, notwithstanding the harrowing conditions that exist, notwithstanding the obstructions that exist in the constitutions of the states; and, Mr. President, the time is bound to come when there will be more states of the Union that will give women this right than there will be states that deny it to women.

"Yesterday we heard the women who have solicited senators to vote for this measure held up to scorn, and held up under the designation 'petticoat brigades' and 'petticoat lobbies.' Mr. President, the senator who used those expressions will find that a speech of that kind will not do his side of the question any good, but it will do it immeasurable harm. That is not the way to brush aside a right which I regard as inalienable, notwithstanding the courts have declared that it is a privilege.

"Mr. President, these women who have come here are as good women as live; and to have them referred to in the manner that they have been, to criticize them for asking and pleading with a senator for a right to which they consider they are entitled, it seems to me will have no effect except to work a reaction.

"Mr. President, I contend that this evolution in government is proceeding right now, has been developing for years, and will culminate in the passage of a joint resolution of this kind."

THAT the Democratic Party feels keenly the loss of prestige that the defeat of the suffrage amendment means to it politically, the leaders of the party constantly proved even before President Wilson made the final appeal for complete democracy in this nation:

SMOOT



"If this resolution fails now," said Chairman Jones, Democratic leader in charge of the suffrage measure, "it fails for lack of Democratic votes. The Democratic campaign cry, 'Stand by the President in the conduct of the war,' will again be proved by the record to be a political slogan rather than a patriotic appeal. Again will the record, made from the beginning of the war, show that Republicans have acted wholly as Americans, and given to the President more whole-hearted and generous support in what he deemed best for the prosecution of the war than the Democrats. This will continue till the war ends in a complete victory for our cause."

No doubt with Senator Underwood's passionate plea for an influenza appropriation in his mind, Senator Jones said of the time-worn States' rights bogey:

"Some, admitting all that can be urged on the merits of woman's suffrage, are clinging to the shreds of the doctrine of States' rights and propose to vote against this resolution. The doctrine of States' rights has become a mere convenience. It is invoked when we do not want a thing and cast aside when we do. There may be some excuse for invoking that doctrine in construing the Constitution when we are legislating, but there is no such excuse when we are proposing amendments to that Constitution. There is but one State right guaranteed by the Constitution, and that is given by the clause 'that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.' In every other respect the Constitution can be changed in the manner provided therein, and no State can justly complain of what three-fourths of the State legislatures may decree."

Senator Jones finally referred to the conservatism of New England that, with the sectional prejudice of the South, is holding back the nation:

"MR. President, times are changing. There is a new order of things. We must meet this in an up-to-date way. Woman suffrage is not only a demand that must be heeded, but it is a vital need in this new order. When this war closes, our nation will be confronted by the most serious and far-reaching questions that it has ever faced. The real test of our institutions and principles of government will come with the readjustment that must follow. We will need all the intelligence, all the humanity, and all the whole-hearted patriotism of our entire citizenship to carry us through. The earnest, loyal, united effort of our men and women will meet this crisis for the welfare of our people and the glory of our institutions just as that united effort is going to win this war. The great leaders of England know this need and admit it.

"As I heard the able, wise, and patriotic junior senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Weeks) speak so earnestly and clearly of the need of early preparation to meet after-the-war problems, I could not help but contrast his attitude with the great statesmen of England. He thinks we should not delay making ready to meet these questions. I



The President Reads His Message

agree fully with him. He seems to attach no importance to the aid of the patriotic women of the country in solving these problems. He is going to vote against even giving the States a chance to say whether, under the Constitution, that we hold up as the corner stone of real democracy, one-half of our citizenship shall have a direct part in working out these matters of vital importance to our industries and the government itself. The women who furnish the fighters as well as doing their full part in this war, he does not seem to consider worthy to take a direct part in the work of peace. The justice and reasonableness of such a position, I am sure, is clear to him; but it is wholly beyond me.

"His able and learned colleague who was most insistent that this nation send the women's boys to the blood-soaked battle-fields of Europe and who now declares upon all occasions that those boys must keep on fighting and dying until German autocracy and power is utterly destroyed, is most strenuous in his efforts to maintain autocracy over the best half of our citizenship. I am with him in his desire and effort to destroy German power and autocracy, but, to my feeble mind, his attitude toward our women is unwise, inconsistent, and wholly unjustifiable. What a contrast is the position of the great men and leaders of monarchical England."

WHEN the President of the United States following an address on the amendment by Senator Walsh, was announced every gallery was crowded with women, among them the very women who for months have asked him to make this appeal to the wilful men of the Senate. The Senate floor was crowded by large numbers from the House of Representatives, with Cabinet members and diplomats present. The President was accompanied by Secretary of the Treasury

McAdoo, Secretary Daniels, Secretary Lane and Secretary Houston, Secretary Wilson and Private Secretary Tumulty. Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. McAdoo occupied seats in the executive gallery.

The address of the President was the last card of the Democratic Party. When the head of the Nation came to the Capital the votes stood 62 for and 34 against, with a change in but two votes necessary to enfranchise the women of the nation. The President had appeared before the Senate but once before, when he delivered his peace speech in 1917 before the United States entered the war, although he had addressed many joint sessions of Congress. His appeal for the enfranchisement of women was therefore the second of any such speech since the days of Washington to be delivered by a President to the Senate.

The delivery of the President was extremely solemn. In his words there was a distinct personal note, and this note was apparent also in his delivery. There was perfect silence in the great chamber as he spoke, the only two interruptions of applause at different times from Senator Vardaman and from Secretary McAdoo, quickly dying away.

Senator Phelan, of California, on the same afternoon gave an able and scholarly address explaining how he had been won to national suffrage, referring to the first appeals of the National Woman's Party in his own state, and his final vision of the logic of the demand.

"IF we were engaged in making a Constitution, and at this period of our history the question should come forward for the first time, I am disposed to believe that there would be very little opposition to taking away the discrimination which has ordinarily obtained against woman as a woman. . . .

"One senator, the senator from Ohio, said in his recent address that the people of his state had expressed their views, and I beg you to concede that he should have said the male voters of his state have expressed their views. One-half of the people of his state are actually disfranchised, and he comes here with a scrap of paper meaning nothing, so far as the sentiment of the women of his state are concerned. Men are selfish, especially in the possession of power; they are loath to give it up. That is true of all autocrats, but it is equally true that those who are denied power and who are subject to the autocracy are constantly making protests; and for 50 years the women of this country have never ceased to make protests.

"I think if the South were sympathetic and associated itself more closely with the hopes and aspirations of the West it might serve a great purpose in resisting the forces of reaction which ultimately, sooner than later, will seek to assert themselves before the American people.

"If the West understood the South and the South understood the West as well as they did in 1916, there would be a great bulwark for democracy in the Union of the two great sections of the country which would radiate far afield and perhaps finally penetrate New England, the cradle



of liberty, the honor of human freedom, through its representatives opposing equal suffrage is a spectacle to make the angels weep. The former good Republican leader from the state of New Hampshire, a venerable and respected figure of this body, was ready to give the women his voice and vote for this measure. I should think that his influence might have some effect upon the men from New England, unless, he being dead, they repudiate his leadership.

"I have in my hand, sir, the resolutions adopted at a meeting in Worcester, Mass., on the 15th day of October, 1851, 67 years ago. In reading the speeches of Wendell Phillips I came across his address on that occasion, and I think that everything which can be said in favor of granting suffrage to women is embraced within the

ASHURST pages of this volume as expressed in his speech. It is so absolutely logical that no one can avoid it. It is quite immaterial, as the President said today, what may be 'the predilections of



the drawing-room.' The women of the drawing-room have breadwinners to provide for them. We are talking of the women who for one reason or another do not acknowledge dependency upon man in intellectual, educational, and spiritual matters, but assert an individuality of their own. But the women of the drawing-room, after years of long subjection, come to regard themselves as more or less dependent because the necessity of their condition does not require of them either the acquisition of knowledge upon public questions or the exercise of public duties. Their male representative does that for them and they doubtless are quite content. But we are engaged in the business of emancipating women, even those who are so complacent.

"I am going to read those resolutions into my address for the purpose of reaching the ears of the New England senators particularly, because the opposition to this amendment comes from the New England senators and from the Southern senators, certainly an unholy alliance. The very name of Wendell Phillips ought to arouse the New England conscience to believe that there is something in this contest higher than mere material gain, that there is something, as the Presi-

dent describes, of a spiritual nature, something involving the impalpable rights of persons. For those rights the men of New England gave Wendell Phillips as a missionary to the country and as a result of the gospel which he preached the black race were freed. The black race is the greatest obstacle today in this body to woman suffrage, but standing alone the opposition that arises from that source would not be sufficient unless it was re-enforced from New England.

"HOW can we justify ourselves? As the President says, he wants to be put in a position where he need not be ashamed when he goes before the nations of the world speaking for this democracy. It is clearly our duty to perfect our democracy at home before we preach democracy abroad. Therein also

PITTMAN

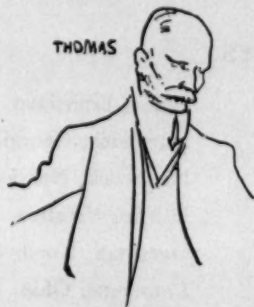


is it a war measure. The hour has arrived when this can be accomplished in this body by the change of a few votes. Why should not those votes be given? Have senators a pride of opinion which would put them in opposition to the spirit of the age? Do senators who inquire whether it is a war measure or not deny the authority of the man who came here today to speak, the first authority in the world on that subject, the leader of the American people, the Commander in Chief of the boys in the field and the sailors on the sea?

"After due deliberation, meeting that inquiry, he has said it is a war measure. He wants that weapon with which to win the war. What weapon? Not a new voting constituency in the United States today or tomorrow, because if we submit it today it will take several years in order to get the ratification of the states, but he wants to clear his conscience; he wants to set the country right, if possible, by persuasion of the minds of men; for unless we accept this policy of giving the women the vote, of democratizing the country in a true and real sense, he will just to that extent be weak in presenting the cause of justice and equality, of independence, and of right to the nations of the world.

"He wants the weapon of equal rights to smite the fields of kingcraft.

"He wants, he says, 'a spiritual weapon.' What is a spiritual weapon? It is built of the thoughts and ideals of a nation. It is built of the hopes and aspirations of one-half of our population. It is built of democracy unalloyed and undefiled and a democracy which embraces not some of the



people but all of the people. He asks that the spiritual weapon by the vote of this body be put into his hands. When we go back to our constituencies, with that speech of the President ring-

ing in their ears, because he is their leader, coming to Congress and asking for a weapon, will we say that we denied it? We have given him shot and shells and cannon and we have given the material things with which to fight, but the battle of our inspired leader is to be fought by weapons other than these—by the great idea of liberty and justice for the world. That is the idea which wins the battles, which gave us our own independence—the idea of man being free. I say today the idea of men and women being free is something that carries with it an impelling force to those who believe in a full and absolute acceptance of democracy.



VARDAMAN

"A great orator said set an idea upon its feet and bid it to march from Maine to Georgia it will as surely overturn the Government as if to destroy the Capitol you put gunpowder under the Senate House. That is a rather apt quotation. 'Put gunpowder under the Senate House.' Wendell Phillips used those words, and in that campaign, sending of an idea from Maine to Georgia, you will recollect that he did in fact overturn the Government.

"The President has put spiritual gunpowder under the Senate House. He, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, has told us what he believes is necessary for him as a weapon to make democracy safe in the world.

"I HAVE always sympathized with the South on the race phase of this discussion. In my own state, when a candidate for this office, I was opposed by the representatives of

OVERMAN



what is now known as the Woman's Party. They personally came to my state for the purpose of defeating all men who were candidates under the Democratic auspices because they held that party responsible for the failure of the Susan B. Anthony amendment. At that time I was openly opposed to the Susan B. Anthony amendment on the ground that the states under the Constitution as now organized have jurisdiction over such matters, and hence that the door was not closed under the Constitution to the women of the country who sought suffrage; that they could go from state to state and convince the people of the several states, and, indeed, they had succeeded so admirably I rather resented their seeking an extraordinary means of giving suffrage to the women of the entire country. But I was afterwards informed that there were at least eleven states in this country whose constitutions were so rigid that it was practically impossible for the people of those states themselves to give an expression of their views.

"I do not believe there is any answer to the President's appeal that this is in truth and in fact a war measure, and if it is a war measure, since we have supported the President in all other mat-

ters, we must, to be consistent, support him in this."

The Frelinghuysen amendment to the amendment enfranchising women designed to deprive disloyal women enfranchised through marriage from voting was expounded at great length by the senator from New Jersey, and was opposed by Senator Nelson of Minnesota, representing a district largely populated by naturalized foreign men and women.

"I wish to say to the Senator from New Jersey in brief that I am opposed to his amendment for two reasons: In the first place, to amend the joint resolution now would necessitate its going back to the House of Representatives and being concurred in there. In the next place, the relief he seeks by an amendment to the proposed constitutional amendment is in the power of Congress to grant without action. Congress is given full jurisdiction over the naturalization of foreigners, and Congress can at any time pass a law preventing foreign-born women who marry American citizens from becoming citizens by their marriage. Congress also has the right to prescribe who are qualified to vote for President, electors, and Members of Congress; there is no doubt about that. Therefore no constitutional amendment is needed at all on these subjects, for Congress has plenary power without it, and I shall vote against the amendment proposed by the Senator from New Jersey."

THE four amendments to the suffrage amendment on October 1, the final day of the debate, were all voted laid on the table that the final test might be on the measure itself.

Two of these amendments dealt with the naturalization of foreigners, one with the limitation of suffrage to eliminate the negro vote in the South, and one, by an omission, limited the amendment itself.

On this day Senator Cummins, of Iowa, made a vigorous defense for the amendment and for the ways in which women had worked to bring about the amendment. This upholding of the right of deprived citizens to agitate for their own freedom is given on another page.

Senator LaFollette, of Wisconsin, who travelled from California to vote for suffrage, arrived in time for the vote. He had not been in the Senate for a year, due to illness in his family, and was warmly welcomed by his friends on the floor and outside.

When the final vote came at a late hour in the afternoon, although the fate of suffrage seemed a foregone conclusion which had been announced by the press in every part of the country, the galleries were tense as the roll was called. The quiet women above sat counting the enemies of democracy. Before that count was finished plans for their new campaign against those obstructionists were already on the way.

The final vote stood 53 for the measure and 31 against, with 12 senators not voting, 8 being

paired against the measure and 4 in favor of it.

Of the 62 senators who voted or paired for the measure 32 were Republicans and 30 were Democrats.

Of the 34 senators voting and paired against, 12 were Republicans and 22 were Democrats.

Therefore 73 per cent of the Republican side of the Senate was recorded as in favor of the suffrage amendment, while 57 per cent of the Democratic side of the Senate was recorded as opposed.

In order to keep the defeated measure on the calendar for reconsideration before the present Congress it was necessary to move for such consideration immediately. Therefore, before the vote was announced Senator Jones, of New Mexico, Chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee of the Senate, announced that he desired to change his vote from yea to nay, this technical change making it possible for him to move for a reconsideration of federal suffrage.

Immediately following the announcement of the unfavorable vote, Senator Jones announced that on the next legislative day he would move for reconsideration of the suffrage measure. On the following Thursday, October 3, Senator Jones made the motion to reconsider the amendment and it was thereby placed on the calendar in the same position it occupied before the vote. This prompt move on the part of Senator Jones makes it still possible to pass the federal suffrage amendment this Congress, which ends March 4.

The Senate Vote on Woman Suffrage

YEAS.

REPUBLICAN

Calder, New York
Colt, Rhode Island
Cummins, Iowa
Curtis, Kansas
Fall, New Mexico (*paired*)
Fernald, Maine
France, Maryland
Frelinghuysen, New Jersey (*paired*)
Goff, West Virginia
Gronna, North Dakota
Harding, Ohio (*paired*)
Johnson, Cal. (*paired*)
Jones, Washington
Kellogg, Minnesota
Kenyon, Iowa

LaFollette, Wisconsin
Lenroot, Wisconsin
McCumber, North Dakota
McNary, Oregon
Nelson, Minnesota
New, Indiana
Norris, Nebraska
Page, Vermont
Poindexter, Washington
Sherman, Illinois (*paired*)
Smith, Michigan
Smoot, Utah
Sterling, South Dakota
Sutherland, West Virginia
Townsend, Michigan
Warren, Wyoming

Watson, Indiana

DEMOCRAT

Ashurst, Arizona
Chamberlain, Oregon
Culbertson, Texas
Gerry, R. I.
Gore, Oklahoma
Henderson, Nevada
Hollis, New Hampshire (*paired*)
Johnson, South Dakota
Jones, New Mexico
Kendrick, Wyoming
King, Utah (*paired*)
Kirby, Arkansas
Lewis, Illinois
Martin, Kentucky

McKellar, Tennessee
Myers, Montana
Nugent, Idaho
Owen, Oklahoma
Phelan, California
Pittman, Nevada
Ransdell, Louisiana
Robinson, Arkansas
Shafroth, Colorado
Sheppard, Texas
Smith, Arizona
Thomas, Colorado
Thompson, Kansas
Vardaman, Mississippi
Walsh, Montana
Wilfley, Missouri (*paired*)

NAYS

REPUBLICAN

Baird, New Jersey
Borah, Idaho (*paired*)
Brandegge, Connecticut
Dillingham, Vermont
Drew, New Hampshire
Hale, Maine
Knox, Pennsylvania (*paired*)
Lodge, Massachusetts

McLean, Connecticut
Penrose, Pennsylvania
Wadsworth, New York
Weeks, Massachusetts

DEMOCRAT

Bankhead, Ala.
Beckham, Kentucky (*paired*)
Benet, South Carolina
Fletcher, Florida

Guion, Louisiana
Hardwick, Georgia
Hitchcock, Nebraska
Martin, Virginia
Overman, North Carolina
Pomerene, Ohio
Reed, Missouri
Saulsbury, Delaware
Shields, Tennessee

Simmons, North Carolina
Smith, South Carolina
Smith, Georgia
Smith, Maryland
Swanson, Virginia (*paired*)
Trammell, Florida
Underwood, Alabama
Williams, Mississippi
Wolcott, Delaware

Change in the Membership of the Present Congress

THE general elections this November concern only the next Congress, beginning March 4.

Several vacancies in the Senate caused by death will, however, be filled at the November 5th election, in which cases the Senators will take their seats in November filling the remainder of the present Congress ending March 4. Exclusive of vacancies from the suffrage states where all candidates are for the national amendment, the new men who come in on November 5, will be from New Hampshire, Missouri, New Jersey, Louisiana and South Carolina.

In New Jersey, the Democratic, Socialist and Prohibition candidates have all declared for the federal amendment. Senator Baird, who was appointed by Governor Edge to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Hughes is running on the Republican ticket to succeed himself for the term from November 5 to March 4. Senator Baird voted against the suffrage amendment in the Senate on October 1. The Democratic candidate, Charles O'Conner Hennessey, has consistently fought for national woman suffrage in his public life in New Jersey, and has many times announced his determination to vote for the measure whenever opportunity offered.

The election contest in New Jersey is virtually on between Senator Baird and Mr. Hennessey, as neither the prohibition nor socialist candidates are making a campaign for the four months of the short term ending in March.

In the recent primaries, Mr. Gay, of Louisiana, and Mr. Pollock of South Carolina, both Democrats, were elected to succeed Senator Guion, of Louisiana, and Senator Benet, of South Carolina, to fill the unexpired terms from November 5, of

Senators Broussard and Tillman. Senators Guion and Benet both voted against the federal amendment on October 1. Neither Mr. Gay nor Mr. Pollock has yet announced his position on the amendment.

In New Hampshire, Mr. George H. Moses is running on the Republican ticket and Mr. John B. Jameson on the Democratic ticket, to succeed Mr. Drew, who was appointed by the Governor to serve until November 5 in the place of Senator Gallinger. Mr. Drew, for whose seat the contest is being held, voted against the amendment in the Senate.

Mr. Jameson has sent the following telegram to the Woman's Party:

"If elected to United States Senate, I will vote for the federal amendment favoring equal suffrage."

Mr. Moses has not yet made a statement as to his position.

In Missouri, Mr. Selden P. Spencer, of St. Louis, is running on the Republican ticket, and ex-Governor Folk, of St. Louis, on the Democratic ticket, to succeed Senator Wilfley who was appointed by the governor upon the death of Senator Stone to hold the senatorship until the election could take place. Mr. Wilfley voted for the federal amendment in the Senate.

The two Missouri candidates have announced their support of the federal amendment. Ex-Governor Folk wired to the Woman's Party:

"Replying to your telegram, if elected to the Senate I will vote in favor of the national suffrage amendment in accordance with the appeal made by President Wilson, and I have so advised him."

Mr. Spencer wired to the Woman's Party:

"I am cordially for the national suffrage amendment and if elected senator will vote for it."

The situation concerning the changes in the membership of the present Congress may, therefore, be summarized as follows:

Exclusive of men from the suffrage states, four opponents and one friend of suffrage go out on November 5. Both candidates for the seat of the suffragist, Senator Wilfley, have pledged their support to the measure, so that no change as far as suffrage is concerned will occur in this seat.

Elections for the seats of two of the opponents who go out on November 5, have already been held; namely, in Louisiana and South Carolina, through the holding of the primaries. The positions of the two men elected has not yet been announced. The seats of the other two opponents of the amendment, from New Jersey and New Hampshire, will be contended for in the November elections. In each case, the Democratic candidate has pledged his support if elected; the Republican candidate is in one case a declared opponent, and in the other case has not yet announced his position.

If all of the four new men who come in on November 5 to succeed the four opponents whose terms expire on that date, are for the national amendment, the measure will then have a margin of two in its support in the Senate. If any two of the men who succeed these four opponents are for the amendment, it will still be in a position to pass the Senate, even though no additional votes are won among the men who voted against the measure last week.

Women Will Protest Against the Thirty-Four Wilful Men

A YEAR and nine months have elapsed since the members of the National Woman's Party, following the President's refusal to support federal suffrage began the picket at the gates of the White House. During this time women from every state in the nation stood on that picket line of protest and drew the attention of the whole country to the fact that the great obstacle in the way of the passage of the suffrage amendment was the opposition of the President of the United States.

The women of this nation hope that it will not be necessary again to stand at the gates of the White House protesting for enfranchisement. They hope that the only opposition they will now have to convert will be the inconsiderable number of wilful men, opposing the President's war policies in the United States Senate. They hope that the President having at last come out squarely in support of the federal amendment, will follow up the stand he has taken by pressing vigorously for the passage of the measure until that is accomplished.

In the meantime, while awaiting further pressure upon the Senate from the President, the

members of the National Woman's Party will begin a picket of the thirty-four wilful men of the United States Senate, who, in opposing the liberation of the women of the United States are opposing the President, and blocking the war program of this country. This demonstration of protest will begin as soon as the Senate reconvenes after its three day recess.

The pickets will stand with their banners of protest at the Senate entrance of the Capitol every day that the Senate is in session. Their banners calling attention to the wilful thirty-four and what the suffrage blockade means, will be flanked on each side by the purple, white and gold tricolor of the National Woman's Party. It is the intention of the indignant women who must continue to struggle for their liberty that not a corner of the country shall remain in ignorance of the names of the wilful thirty-four.

The first lettered banner which will appear on the steps of the Senate side of the Capitol when the session opens at noon reads, "We demand an amendment to the United States Constitution enfranchising women." The second banner reads, "We protest against the thirty-four wilful sena-

tors who have delayed the political freedom of American women. They have obstructed the war program of the President. They have lined up the Senate with Prussia by denying self government to the people."

Those holding the banners at the opening of the session will be Miss Elizabeth Kalb, of Houston, Texas, daughter of Mrs. Benigna Kalb, head of the Texas Farm Woman's Union; Miss Vivian Pierce, of San Diego, Cal.; Mrs. Bertha Moller, of Minneapolis; Mrs. Horton Pope, of Denver; and Miss Bertha Arnold, of Colorado Springs, Col.

Whether the Senate is sitting or not, suffrage pickets will stand with banners in front of the Senate Office Building opposite the Capitol, so that each day every senator who enters his office will know of the indignation of women at the Senate's action on suffrage.

The first banner to be carried at the Senate Office building reads:

"Pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment today. Cease embarrassing the President in his war program by denying democracy at home."

Comments of the Press

A Great and Moving Hour

IT is in a great and moving hour that the final test of woman's suffrage comes in the Senate of the United States, and it was with an appeal worthy of that hour, both in its near and immediate limits and in its farflung influence, that President Wilson appeared upon the legislative scene.

The international bearing of the reform was the chief subject of the address to the Senate. Upon that Mr. Wilson spoke with a peculiar authority. Those Democratic Senators of the South who chiefly block the cause at this time may well feel that the traditions of their party lie in opposition to the federal amendment. But war time, the climax of the greatest of human battles, is no day for party traditions, however old and settled, when they run contrary to the paramount needs of the nation.

But it is the bearing of the measure upon the world forces of democracy that the President particularly stressed. There is a legitimate war plea, an argument that sweeps beyond party, beyond section, beyond every small habit of mind. Here is not only the sign and symbol of our faith for which we fight, but the very act and practice thereof. To rebuff suffrage in this hour would go far to hamper this country in its labor for the liberalization of the world. President Wilson spoke here the cold, inescapable truth. His goal was a high and ideal one; his immediate argument was severely practical.

The President's plea will have its effect. The suffrage amendment must pass, here and now. We greatly hope that it will be accepted by such a margin of votes as will place the faith of this country in the fundamental truths of its government beyond the questioning of criticism or debate.—*New York Tribune, October 1, 1918.*

The Appeal to the Senate

PRESIDENT Wilson's appeal to the Senate to pass the suffrage amendment ought not to have been necessary. The political equality of men and women ought to be a matter of course, just as is their equality before the law. The President does not exaggerate a particle when he asserts that the war could not be successfully conducted without the participation of women. Even at the battle front the potent aid of women is apparent in many ways. The spirit of American womanhood is fully as militant, fully as determined to fight this war to a finish as is the spirit of American manhood.

There is unity of command among the allies, and it is winning the war. There is unity of effort in the United States, and it is making the nation's war work effective. There is unity of spirit among the people, without regard to section, party, age or sex, and it is this unity of spirit that gives life to all material efforts. The women do not work by the clock or by measure in their partnership in this war. They give their

souls and bodies without limitation or reservation. They will continue their devotion even if political equality should be denied them. But it is not right that the prejudice of the dark ages should prevail against the clear and plain duty of America toward that half of the population that can work and sacrifice and rear the race and share in everything but the direction of their own government.—*Washington Post, October 1, 1918.*

An Opponent Wonders

WE wonder if President Wilson has at last been able to win the distinguished approval of Alice Paul et. al., and what is the next thing they will demand of him.—*Baltimore Sun, October 2, 1918.*

A Peevish Administration Supporter Asks: Will the Suffragists Win the War

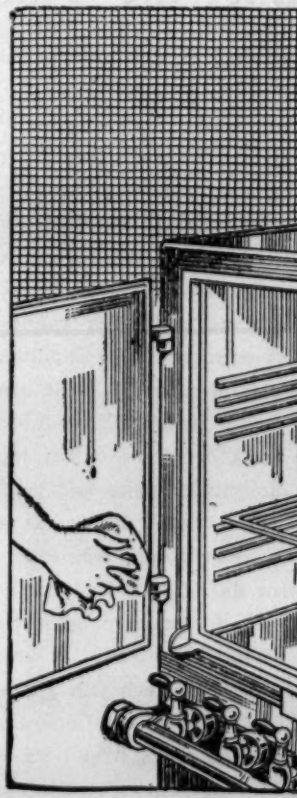
THE apparent obsession of the President that votes for women are vitally necessary in the winning of the war, and that the only way we can prove our good faith is by passing the Susan B. Anthony amendment, is one of those curious phenomena which quite passes our comprehension.

We had not noticed any signs of slackerism among the real womanhood of America, or any other nation, Allied on Teutonic; certainly not among the War Mothers. Possibly the President thinks he may enlist the Shrieking Sisterhood

into a picketing drive at the Kaiser, and that then Ludendorff would be ordered promptly to surrender; but the disciples of frightfulness are not so easily influenced by the strident female voice as the President evidently is, and the picketers might hesitate at trying their antics in Germany, whose war lord is less patient and amenable than our Chief Magistrate.—*Baltimore Sun, October 1, 1918.*

He Will Not Stay Beaten

DEFEAT of the suffrage amendment in the Senate yesterday will first of all be thought of as a blow to the President's prestige. He dared greatly in appealing directly to the Senate, and his rebuff cannot but make people doubt whether he has not overworked the method of delivering his messages in person. But Mr. Wilson is a very tenacious gentleman, who seldom admits that he is beaten, and he may be expected to go on working for the amendment until its reconsideration is forced. It is plain that he will have to go against a mountainous prejudice on the part of some Southern senators. It is not so much a sex prejudice as it is a race prejudice. This came out in its full offensiveness in the speech of Senator Williams, yesterday, who announced that he would be willing to vote for the amendment if it was made to apply to white women only! Well, the certain thing is that white women would refuse to accept it on those terms. The reform they seek is in the name of democracy, and they could not in the act repudiate the democratic principle.—*New York Post, Oct 2, 1918.*



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your kitchen
brightened.**

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your
hands.**



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Cleanser**

*Chases
Dirt*

A Group of Wilful Men

Concluded from Page 5

the sea, and thereby lit the fires of a revolution which emancipated the whole world? Those men were criminal, according to the view of the senator from Missouri. They did not obey the law; and therefore, according to his logic, they were unfit to become makers of law.

YOU sneer about women voting, but why could they not run this Government as well as we can? I think sometimes if they could not do it better than we are doing it they have but little right to participation, because although they may not have established to the satisfaction of all senators their competency to make laws and execute them, we have established very clearly to the world our partial incompetence to make laws and execute them. I do not say that we do not make many just laws and that we do not carry into effect many high, exalted principles, but we at least can not claim exemption from radical and sometimes fatal mistakes.

I recur to the militants. I do not believe they committed any crime; and while I had not one particle of sympathy with the manner in which they were conducting their campaign, I think their arrest and imprisonment and the treatment which they received while in confinement are a disgrace to the civilized world, and much the more a disgrace to the United States, which assumes to lead the civilized world in humane endeavor. They disturbed nobody save that disturbance which is common to the carrying forward of all propaganda by those who are intensely and vitally interested in it. I wish they had not done it, but I am not to be the judge of their methods so long as they confine themselves to those acts and to those words which are fairly directed to the accomplishment of their purposes. I can not accept the conclusion that because these women burned a message in Lafayette Park or because they carried banners upon the streets in Washington therefore they are criminals and therefore they are unfit to become participants with us in the affairs of the Republic.

THIS movement has been in progress for 40 years. It is not confined to any particular organization of women. If it were true that there have been excesses here and there in the conduct of the campaign, it is more than illogical, if not absurd, for anyone to contend that, therefore, the movement should fail and that therefore it is unjust and unfair and unwise to extend to the women of the land that privilege which we have monopolized for ourselves these many years.

Mr. President, we may be defeated now. These 33 or 34 men may assume the responsibility of denying to the millions of America the right to

pass upon this fundamental advance in government. But they can no more arrest the onward sweep of this ocean of intelligence and sea of justice than though they were to attempt to force back the tides of the sea with their feeble hands. They may just now be able possibly to disappoint these millions of loyal, intelligent, God-fearing women, but they will not be able to disappoint them long.

Just a year or two ago the Senate could command only a majority for woman suffrage, and barely that. It now commands within one or two votes two-thirds of its membership. If that does not teach this "little group of wilful men" something of the future, if it does not warn them of the advancing tide of public sentiment nothing could admonish them.

Mr. President, we vote upon a question as vital as any which commanded the interest and the thought of our forefathers when they framed the Constitution under which we have lived so happily for more than a hundred years; and I can only hope that each vote may be cast remembering that into the hands of that vote is committed the welfare of the greatest country upon earth and justice to one-half of its hundred millions of people.

One "Vital" Issue

NO exception will be taken, for none can be taken, to the tribute which President Wilson paid yesterday to the part the women of this and other lands have played in supporting the cause of liberty in this war. It is a tribute well deserved. It is deserved by the women of France and Great Britain and Italy and Belgium no less than by the women of the United States; and with us it is deserved fully as much by the women who are opposed to the measure for which the President was speaking as by the women supporting that measure.

Being a body made up of politicians, the Senate may heed the President's advice. If so, well and good.—*New York Herald*, October 1, 1918.

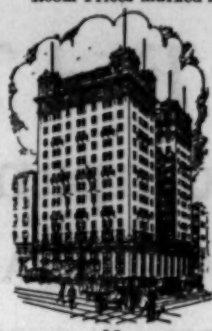
The Militants

"MAY we not," as Mr. Wilson himself might say, doff our hats at this juncture to those militants who so faithfully and at the risk of jail sentences have been "shadowing" the White House?—*New York Herald*, October 1, 1918.

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